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forty-five or over is or has been married, except five men and six women. No one married, at least in the present generation, below the age of twenty. From [illegible] to forty-five each sex shows, as might be expected, a shift from one hundred per cent single status to nearly a hundred per cent married status. However, the table shows that more women than men are married in the various age groups concerned, this situation only ceases to be apparent in the ages forty to forty-four. Marriages for both sexes, but especially the men, tend to be rather late, and the reason can be inferred from several statements made by informants to the effect that a man should not marry until he is secure enough in his occupation to be reasonably certain of being able to support a family. A young man who wishes to be married cannot rely on being temporarily absorbed into and supported by an extended family headed by his father or an older brother. This sometimes happens, but ordinarily the father or brother of such a young married man is in no position to give such assistance, whether or not he would like to be able to. Most men have already been supporting themselves for a number of years before they get married.

A bit of local folklore, evidently traditional, has it that a man should be seven years older than his wife. Calculations made on a sample of fifty-six marriages revealed that the average difference in age between spouses is four years. The mode is between five and six years. The following tabulation indicates the range:

Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages	Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages
0- 1	6	7- 8	4
1- 2	5	8- 9	3
2- 3	5	9-10	3
3- 4	5	10-11	3
4- 5	7	11-12	4
5- 6	9	12-13	3
6- 7	5	13-14	1

In only two cases included above are the wives older than their husbands, by one and two years. There are six additional cases in which the husbands can be said to be excessively older than their wives—two cases of a 13-year difference, and one each with 17-, 19-, 20-, and 22-year differences. Nearly all the men in these cases had been emigrants who did not marry until they returned to the village in early middle age.

THE MISTRESS OF THE HOUSE

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One of the most widely held notions about the Middle East is that the average Arab woman is a "classic" example of a woman's being a mere chattel in a male-dominated household and society. Certainly Arab culture is strongly patrilineal, and "on the books" woman's status in it may appear to be rather subordinate. The present writer is of the opinion, however, that the restrictions of *legal* status (which

are being steadily removed in most Middle East countries at the present time) do not obtrude very much into everyday living in the average household, though they may do so somewhat more among the Muslims than among the Christians. For instance, he believes that that bugbear of American feminists, the female clerical, has been removed in any culture at any time except under special, hence exceptional, circumstances. The occurrence of such circumstances can be safely predicted only in individual families in a patrilineal system, which are so well off that the women can be relieved of all useful functions except sex. It is only in such families that extensive polygyny (if the culture permits it) is ordinarily to be found, and certainly an unlicensed wife in a wealthy polygynous household can even be deprived of the dignity of her sexual role.

In the Middle East village, however, the basic unit of everyday living is the single household. Among the Christians, it is always based on a permanent monogamous marriage, and the probability is that the same is true among the great majority of the Muslims. The very existence of the household, initially and as time goes on, depends upon the active participation of the wife. She is cook, housekeeper, seamstress, nurse, and, above all, mother of the children who, it is hoped, will project the house of the family into the future. She is *sitt al-bayt*, "mistress of the house," a title which, in Muslim, used to be given to quite a number of ladies as their personal name. Such a woman is no chattel, and there are numerous women in the village who, as individuals, are accorded very-much respect by all.

The average village-dwelling woman works hard and makes no pretense of "taking her ease." She will continue to work hard until decrepitude overtakes her. One occasionally may even see an old woman trudging along bent nearly double under the weight of a bundle of firewood sometimes nearly as large as herself. But if this woman is socially oppressed, it is the necessary physical labor enjoined by necessity which is the tyrant and not the lord-heartedness of her husband, her brothers, or her sons, who are as hardworking and work-worn as she is.

As has been noted, the great majority of the Muslim women are housewives or egocentric housewives. Domestic duties occupy most of their time, but, as will be seen in the next chapter, their regular chores do not prohibit social intercourse outside the house. Before the introduction of convenient and relatively inexpensive Western manufactures, the average housewife wove the cloth with which she made her family's clothes. Weaving, like shoemaking, has now completely disappeared from the village which is not exceptional in this respect (cf. Kahn, 1950, p. 169). A few housewives do occasional needlework to supplement the family income (cf. Fisher, 1950, pp. 208–09). The forty-four village women who have non-domestic paying jobs certainly represent something entirely new in the village culture. But the jobs themselves are something entirely new, and the extent to which or not the women's taking them is in general motivated primarily by necessity rather than by "career girl" ambitions. His impression is that most of the girls feel that their jobs are temporary arrangements before mar-

[5.2] 43.2 ships. The most popular occupation, morning, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it can be said, as Fei concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1939, p. 214), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

[16] It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,200,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 53) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprises. Lewthwaite (1949, p. 414) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that in the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometer in ancient times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1900, 130,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 15,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Most emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in almost every town were reported of men who came and went several times. The majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for holiday—telling evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such men returned to Mansūf but none since the 1930's.

[17] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from showing the interest of the way-of-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 6,000,000 pounds sterling (Hourani, 1946, p. 35). This was all set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to $16,000,000, in 1934 (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

The people of Mansūf have done their share in the process of emigration.

553 The term *ma'allim* (teacher) is applied to the schoolteacher, usually immediately followed by the individual's name, whether in reference or in address. It was observed, however, that the title was often omitted in cases where the teacher was being addressed by an older man.

554 These titles symbolize the respect which in due certain statuses, and the criteria for respect are vested authority and learning. The only other point which needs to be made about them is the fact that they are extended to the wives of the men who hold the statuses to which they pertain. Of the three, *Shaykhah* appears to be the one which is taken the most seriously and used the most consistently. The status is very old, of course, whereas *mukhtarah* and *Ustazah* are new, and the use of *ma'allim* is greatly extended compared to the old days. No other titles are used in the village.

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7: Gullick E-5 (1952) 1955 MK1 Lebanon MK1

of a rather loose, the bulk of evening sociability takes place in private homes. There are several rather fixed groups of friends in the village who constantly interact with each other.

These evening gatherings may involve mostly gossip or small talk, but more often conversation is in addition to games. In one circle the most popular game is bridge, played according to Culbertson rules. Some years ago someone returned from America with the book, "Before that we had our own rules." The play is fast and shrewd and also rather noisy. American technical terms such as "grand" and "no trump" are intermingled with Arabic numbers and sub-names. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Pinochle is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are backgammon (*zaudi*) of which there are three versions, *dames* (essentially the same as checkers but with elaborations), and *shesa* (*shishaq*) which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word games are very popular also, and very frequently writing is an essential element in them. For example, someone will write a dozen or so letters in their unconnected forms in a row. The others are then asked to make sense out of what appears to be meaningless. The principles involved in such games are typical while (e.g., the union of unconnected letters—somewhat analogous to a row of unconnected script letters in English), puns, and obscure grammatical relationships.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *gafa*. In this, contestant A recites a stanza or so of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then recite lines which begin with the last letter of B's. And so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Impromptu verses, provided they scan and rhyme properly, are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a social one of spend the hall on lasts without a break.

In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes intermingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

Those villagers who live and work away from Shuqif in the winter maintain very close contact with each other. For example, in Ras Beirut, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven nuclear families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together on a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "little Shuqif" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have such

water supplies are not only inadequate and unsafe, they are also unhealthy. In all cases the source is outside of the delivered and may be a mile or more away. This necessitates a long walk on the part of the women who carry the water in jugs to their homes.

One of the major items included in plans for the improvements project is that of furnishing domestic water to the villages. A well has been drilled near Loubieh by the Technical Cooperation Service and it is planned to pump from it to a reservoir to be built on a high point. From here a pipe line distribution system will furnish water to fountains in each village.

In each of the five project villages, the persons interviewed stated that the nearest doctor, nurse, or hospital is located in Saida. Only Loubieh reported having an midwife. Kawkaba reported two midwives while the other three villages each has one midwife living in the village. It is beyond the province of this report to report upon the qualifications or training of the local midwives.

Schools

The information on village schools in the project area was secured from the local teachers (Table X). All of the project villages have government-run elementary schools, with the exception of Loubieh. Ebshiya has no schools while Sahmaltiyeh has a privately-run school as well as the government elementary school. While the school in Ein Baalbeh has two rooms, the remaining were one simple, one-room affairs. None of the villages offer education beyond the elementary level. Such higher education, however, is available at Saida or Beirut.

The number of pupils in each school varies from 30 in the private school of Sahmaltiyeh to 140 in the Aabbasa government elementary school. This latter school is the only one reporting two teachers. The one classroom is usually small and the children sit, closely packed, at their desks. It is interesting to note the breakdown of the students according to sex. While 267 students attend the five schools, only thirteen of them are girls. The Shari'ah Moslems do not encourage their daughters to attend school. They feel that it is a hindrance to a happy marriage and often encounter disobedience on their children.

than a few months, a year or a few years, before emigrating again. Their business ties and the new ways of living they had adopted forced them to emigrate again. They began to realize that they had become partly strangers to their original culture.

The great majority of the emigrants, 372, never came back. These may be divided roughly into two classes—those who failed to come back because of their financial failure abroad, and those who emigrated fairly recently after the community ties began to break down. The latter did not feel especially attracted toward the village.

Of those who came back to visit, a great many of them did so with a view to getting married to village girls, before settling permanently abroad.

5. The village women attains economic independence: Cases 10 and 12 of the above quoted letter extracts are clear illustrations of the new tendency. Among the 180 women, who have emigrated, about one-half took that step independently. Some of them were single, some were widows and some left their husbands and children at home. Prior to emigration, village culture assigned to woman a status subordinate to that of man. It seems that farm economy demanded that type of subordination. Emigration by women severely tested that suitability of patterns of behavior. Through emigration, the village woman was suddenly thrown on her own resources. She moved from a status of subordination to one of dominance. She became the economic

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/6 head of the family, and her cash gave
6.24/ her prestige.

563. In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. John ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deuk look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

565 6. *The parent-child status relation-*
666 *ship is broken down.* Not only did
/77 the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corres-

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871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Rishonizeem had been prepared for this. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first strong influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance to all village girls. Aside from that, the two sons in Rishonizeem had always school freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sons at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. All the same these returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sexes in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

872 While a few years the school became the focus 873 of village life. It seems that the more physical 874 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to feel it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighbouring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the importance of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Rishonizeem, the village of education.

875 One more vital activity began to take place at 876 the school, involving the whole of the village com- 877 munity and other villagers, too. That was the [illegible] of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early summer school teachers. The drama had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

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536 [illegible] play acting [illegible]. At first only
617 young men acted. A year or two later, girls began to act, too. The village would not go beyond that and allow boys and girls to act together. That involved kissing and embracing between boys and girls on the stage, and the village held to the idea that such a line or an intimate embrace must be reserved to married couples.

534 It is essential that we should dwell briefly on
• 542 the attitude of the village people towards acting
536 by girls. The villagers had a strong taboo against
577 acting by girls. Acting involved the parading of the girl on the stage in front of the crowd including young men and strangers. Remarks might be made about the girl, causing trouble between her family and those who made the remarks. Such parading had the further implication that the parents were eager to present their girl for marriage. That went against the custom which demanded that the girl should wait at home until her suitor came for her. The strongest objection was due to the fact that the people had always associated regular actresses with "bad morals." Gradually, due to the influence of leading families who were willing to begin with their girls, all of the above objections were broken down, until acting by the girls became a matter of course.

536 While a few years acting became one more
621 established village festival, involving the whole community. They had been accustomed to religious village festivals, and it was natural to fit the play in with the previous pattern and make of it one more such festival. Without any exception, everybody—actors, workers, church authorities and leaders—offered his or her services free, for the community welfare. Over a period of two months, preparations for the play would engage the attention of the village with everybody waiting for the occasion with thrilled anticipation. The preparation involved the various activities of making, renting the equipment from Tripoli, constructing the stage, erecting rehearsals, marginal arguments to persuade a certain girl to accept a certain role and her parents to permit her to act, and the distribution of invitations to the neighboring villages. Two or three days before the play, the village children would enlist as volunteers who would go from house to house in the village and gather all available chairs to seat the guests. The children's reward was the enjoyment of the activity itself and free admission during one evening. The play would be presented for three or four nights.

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Schoenfeld. This has been due to several factors, as was shown in the previous discussion—the early work of the Protestant mission in the village, the leading personality of Amin Saliben, the failure of the Russian mission to establish a school in Bishchumm, and emigration by the village people to the United States.

The following figures show to what extent the Bishchumm people have been educated at American, French, and native schools, outside the village. No other system of education has been able to reach that community. The figures cover a period of fifty years, from 1890 to 1939, and show the number of men or women who have been educated at high schools or colleges. A total of 140 people have attended American high schools or colleges, for one or more years. Of these, 70 are men and 62 women. The share of the high schools is 92 (48 men and 51 women). The share of the colleges is 40 (20 men and 11 women).

It should be observed that men and women have been reached equally by the high school, as regards the number educated and the starting period in the history of the village. However, with reference to college students, there are almost three times as many men as women. Also, men started to go to college much earlier. A possible explanation for the discrepancy is that a high school education was as far as the village traditions would go in the case of girls. After all, the status of women has always been that of a housewife and mother. A more plausible explanation is that the American Protestant mission in those early days did not encourage college education for girls. Before 1919, the mission had no provision for girls' college education.

Coming to French high schools and colleges, we find that only 16 people have been reached by that system of education—12 men and 3 women. Of these 11 (8 men and 3 women) went to high school while only 5 (men) went to college.

The following figures on native education cover only high school, for no native college education has ever been established in Lebanon. A total of 56 people (16 men and 40 women) have been educated at native high schools. The great excess of women over men in this case is due to the presence of a good normalien school (Greek Orthodox) for girls in addition to the above school for both sexes. Native education is a new movement in the country, and it has not yet had the time to possess a stable and distinctive character.

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621 specialties as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 2; storekeeper, 6; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 2; carpenter, 2; teacher 4. There are 6 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

621 The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; fireman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 2; seamstress, 3; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 2; janitor, 2; surveyor, 1; merchant, 3; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 12. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and non-urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more conspicuous than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

621 *Religion.* Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over rituals.

621 In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in *Al-Shamā'il*, functioned with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaning/abuse of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One church was that the saints could not

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Parents, after the birth of their first son, cease to be addressed by their given names. They are now addressed by the name of their son, as the father or the mother of so-and-so. On the other hand, the members of the younger generation, until they are married, are referred to and introduced as the children of so-and-so, of such-and-such a family.

An outstanding characteristic of this rural family organization is that, with minor exceptions in certain parts of Lebanon, the woman occupies a relatively high status. Moslem or Christian, she does not submit to the veil, nor does she suffer from undue segregation. In the majority of cases, boys and girls attend the same village school. Wherever both men and women do farm work, we find, as a general rule, that division of labor prevails, with the lighter tasks assigned to women. In many villages of the mountain region, an increasing proportion of women do not do any farm work at all, applying themselves completely to homemaking. Some fifty years ago the doors of higher education were opened to the village women of Lebanon. Since then they have played an increasingly important role in national leadership and development as teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, and enlightened homemakers.

Recreational activity, to one degree or another, is characteristic of every rural existence. This seems to be an essential need, biologically and socially, of human group life. By this means the group gives spontaneous expression, in symbolic form, to the fundamental values of its life and to its aspirations. The rural society of Lebanon is outstanding in this respect, having developed a rich recreational heritage that is well known in the Arabic-speaking world. Some aspects of this heritage have been carried to, and kept alive in, foreign countries by Lebanese emigrants. The Lebanese farmer is characterized by a well-developed sense of humor and a lively tendency or indulge in pranks. He loves to compose folk music and sing folk songs, when alone working in his fields or when in the company of friends. From his early childhood he learns to be a good folk dancer. At the same time his community life is characterized by an abundance of recreational expression.

Customs for community festivities and group-play activity

have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 466 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 391 in South Lebanon, but declined to 111 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 45 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 1,200 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 75,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education to the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

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